

BORDER COUNTRY IN AND AROUND THE ARGOLID

INTRODUCTION

This paper is largely a record of what I saw in nine days spent in and around the Argolid in late May and early June of 1954. My purpose in making the trips was to acquire firsthand detailed knowledge of the topography of the region in preparation for further work on the history of Argos in the fifth century B.C., and my historical interests determined the choice of sites and routes. Next fall I hope to visit other parts of the area. I might add that I found examining the minor sites and following the ancient roads to be both pleasant and profitable, and that I hope that this account may be of some use to students planning to visit districts here described.

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The paper is divided into five independent sections which I list below for the convenience of the reader:

- Section I - Cleonai, Tenos, and the routes south into the Argolid
- Section II - Minor fortifications in the Argolid
- Section III - Tenos, Argos, and the Boacinae
- Section IV - Orsini
- Section V - Rysiai

CLEONAI, TENOS, AND THE ROUTES SOUTH INTO THE ARGOLID

The traveller on the highway or railroad from Corinth to Argos enters the valley of ancient Cleonai near the town of Milionation. He is in rolling fertile country, which becomes somewhat flatter as he descends toward the crossroads at Agios Basilios, a few kilometers farther on. Here at present a new dirt road winds off to the north, in the general direction of ancient Cleonai, which is on a rather prominent hill about two miles northwest of Agios Basilios. At one top the first rise in this road, one can see the site - the highest

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Section I - Cleonai, Tenea, and the Routes South into the Argolid

Section II - Minor Fortifications in the Argolid

Section III - Temenium, Sepeia, and the Erasinus

Section IV - Orneai

Section V - Hysiai

I. CLEONAI, TENEA, AND THE ROUTES SOUTH INTO THE ARGOLID

The traveller on the highway or railroad from Corinth to Argos enters the valley of ancient Cleonai near the town of Chiliomodion. He is in rolling fertile country, which becomes somewhat flatter as he descends toward the crossroads at Agios Basileios, a few kilometers farther on. Here at present a new dirt road winds off to the north, in the general direction of ancient Cleonai, which is on a rather prominent hill about two miles northwest of Agios Basileios. As one tops the first rise in this road, one can see the site - the highest

and largest hill to the northwest and easily distinguished from its neighbours because it has two heights (the western being higher and smaller than the eastern) connected by a ridge. *just visible - probably Propheta Elias by Agios...*

The dirt road leads to the Khan of Kourtessa, once a village, later an inn often mentioned by travellers, and now two or three small houses and a few trees. By following a trail going north and then cutting across a few fields to the west one is in Cleonai in little more than 15 minutes. In late May, 1954, the eastern summit was planted to grain, an old woman with a tent and chickens was ensconced on the ridge, and the western acropolis, uncultivated, was vociferously defended by a little black and tan dog.

The view from this highest part of the little city is splendid. To the northeast is the familiar rocky hump of Acrocorinth, farther west - the gleaming white clay cliffs of the Corinthia. North again, across the blue waters of the Corinthian Gulf, stretch the headland of Perachora and the mountains beyond. South of Cleonai's valley the mountain sometimes called Aion rises up in a solid rock wall; near its eastern end we know are the height Nyphitza, the modern village of Klenia, the ancient Tenea, and the most easterly of the three main classical routes from this valley to the Argolid. More visible is Agios Basileios, sloping up near the center of the rock wall; behind the village is the deep ravine of Guni, the beginning of the second pass which goes between huge Mt. Daphnias on the east and the lower Mt. Koutoulia on the west. Closer to Nemea Station is the rocky mass *τῆς Παναγίας ὁ βράχος*, the monument of Kolokotronis, the green spot which surrounds the modern chapel of Agios Sostis, and apparently a route southwest. Finally we have the main break in the range - here (and for some distance east) at least called Tretus - and the Tretus or Dervenakia Pass, always the main north-south route into the Argolid.

West of Cleonai rises the distinctive flat-topped Mt. Phoukas, the ancient Apesas, which separates Cleonai from the narrower parallel valley of Nemea;

the third - and perhaps the most fertile of these little inland valleys - that of Phlius, is only one more mountain range farther west. Far to the southwest a pointed blue peak is just visible - probably Prophetis Elias by Mycenae. To the east the hills climb to more mountain boundaries.

The valley thus enclosed was the crossing place or starting point for some of the most-used ancient routes from the Isthmus into the heart of Peloponnese. Cleonai itself was 80 stades from Corinth, 120 from Argos.² The shortest route from Corinth would go west from the latter city, ascend the narrow defile of the Longopotamos (the river flowing north through our valley), pass east of Cleonai, and cross the southern heights at Agios Sostis; doubtless a much-travelled way in prehistoric and classical times, it is now followed - at least in part - by an old Turkish road.³

But the most important Corinth-Cleonai route must have been that which runs east of Acrocorinth, climbs the watershed at Chiliomodion, dips down toward modern Agios Basileios, and continues west across the Cleonai valley. From it one could either turn off to Nemea and Phlius and so travel to Arcadia, or pass south through the Dervenakia or other more difficult passes into the Argive plain.

Cleonai

Before following the southern routes, let us take a closer look at Cleonai,⁴ an important point on two of them. Described by Pausanias (2.15) as a πόλις... οὐ μεγάλη and by Strabo (8.377. Cf. Eustath. Il. 2.290) as a πόλισμα, it was a small Doric city, the head of a little state less important than Phlius. It is rarely mentioned in Greek history, but, as could be expected from its location, generally seems to have followed the lead of Argos, its powerful southern neighbour. It appears in the Homeric catalogue of the Greek ships at Troy (Il. 2.570), and after the Dorians took over Cleonai, part of the earlier population is

supposed to have migrated to Clazomenai (Paus 7.3.9).

Presumably the Cleonates presided over the Nemean Games from a very early date; politically the narrow western valley of Nemea must always have belonged to her eastern neighbour,⁵ and Pindar (Nem. 10.79) speaks of the men of Cleonai as giving prizes there. In the first third of the fifth century (a period when Argos was mostly crippled from the Battle of Sepeia), Cleonai was still an independent state, and apparently took no part in the Persian Wars - resembling Argos in this respect. The city was important enough to coin, the oldest series being dated by Head as ca. 471-421.⁶

But some time after the Persian Wars, the Corinthians gained possession⁷ of their little southern neighbour for a while. Perhaps Argos later drove out the Corinthians; at any rate, "after the Battle of Salamis," we find the Cleonaians - perhaps incensed by the Mycenaean claim to the presidency of the Nemean Games⁸ reported in Diodorus (11.65) - helping the Argives to crush Mycenae. For this service they received a share of the fallen city's territory; they also took in some of her citizens.

Toward the middle of the fifth century Cleonai seems to have become more dependent on Argos (who had gradually recovered from Sepeia) and is later regarded as part of the Argeia. About 460 Argos took over the Games at Nemea, and at Tanagra in 458 troops from Cleonai joined men from Argos to fight on the Athenian side; Paus. 1.29.7 tells us that Cleonates who fell in this battle were buried in the Cerameicus. Again in 418 soldiers of Cleonai were Argive allies at Mantinea (Thuc. 5.67.2). Meanwhile, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the city had suffered from the plague and had afterwards dedicated a bronze goat at Delphi (Paus. 10.11.5). In the fourth century we again hear of her as fighting on the Argive side against the Corinthians (Plut. Tim.4).

Aratus of Sicyon brought Cleonai into the Achaean League and held the

Nemean Games there in the latter part of the third century (Plut. Arat. 28). Shortly after, the town was annexed by the Spartan Cleomenes (Polyb.2.52); later, in fighting around Corinth, the territory was ravaged by roaming Macedonian forces (Liv. 33.14f.). Eventually, of course, it passed with the rest of Greece to the Romans, and in the imperial period, from the time of Commodus to that of Geta, considerable coinage was issued there. Oddly enough, this fourth or fifth rate little city became a type of fallen greatness and in Lucian (Charon 23) is classed with Mycenae and Troy.

The last traces of pre-modern settlement on the site were those of a medieval church. The population moved over to Klenia, a hill-side village in the southeast corner of the valley, and their descendants have kept this form of the ancient name, but have no recollection of any settlement on the original hill several miles to the northwest.

Homer (Il. 2.570) describes Cleonai as *εὐκτιμένας... κλεωνάς*; Strabo (8.377), in commenting on this, says that it is *ἐπὶ λόφου περιοικουμένου πανταχόθεν καὶ τετοιχισμένου καλῶς*¹⁰; Pausanias (2.15) remarks that it has a temple of Athena with an image by Skyllis and Dipoinos, said by some to be pupils of Daedalus, by others - to be his sons.¹¹ Of the walls and buildings nineteenth century travellers saw much more than we do now. Frazer writes: "Fortification-walls of considerable extent enclose the hill. They are of polygonal masonry about 6 feet thick, and were defended by towers"¹²; Dodwell notes that their destruction was probably more due to the Romans than to time.¹³ Vischer mentions ruins within the ringwall, the remains of a city gate on the south slope, and many more ruins to the south of the city circuit.¹⁴ One frequently reads of six ancient terrace walls rising one above the other, and probably intended to support the houses and streets.

Of those imposing city walls I saw no trace, and their possible existence

was news to the solitary inhabitant of the place. However, on the trail up to Cleonai I noticed an ancient block buried in the road, and in the rocky fields south of the double hill, I found two more rectangular blocks, one ca. 0.90×1.14 m. and having two large fairly deep cuttings on top (There might be more among the olive trees further west). And as I hurried down over the south slope in a heavy rain I discovered that I was descending by terraces not particularly visible from the bottom of the height - but there did not seem to be any manifestly ancient walls holding these up.

The smaller, higher western acropolis was apparently the citadel, and it drops away more steeply on its west side. In the middle of a bushy area on top is a pile of squarish ancient blocks, the remains of "a small quadrangular building" recorded by Frazer.¹⁵ The eastern height is lower and much larger; it has been thought that there were temples here, and the foundations of four buildings have been made out. This would seem to be the site of Pausanias' temple of Athena and the medieval church which replaced it. Near the east end of the summit, among stones and scrub bush by a thorny little tree at the edge of a grain field, I found several architectural pieces - a fragment with dentils, a small round pilaster with a ring at the top, a frieze block ($.56 \times 1.10 \times .60$ m.) of local stone with triglyphs and a metope, and an architrave block of the same stone with a dove tail clamp cutting and pry holes on its upper surface. There were also a few little battered pieces of marble around, and nearby was a rather slender limestone column drum (length - .83 m., diameter - .35 m.) with a small square empolion hole in one end. I could not make out the foundations of "four buildings," but I did find some broken tiles (one being unmistakably of Corinthian clay) and coarse sherds.

In the plain at the south foot of the hill - but apparently still inside the city - an inscription has been found on two slightly concave marble blocks.¹⁶

It reads: *Ξενοφίλος καὶ Στράτων Ἀργεῖοι ἐποίησαν*, and Fraenkel in I.G., on the basis of the letter forms, says that it is not prior to the beginning of the first century B.C. According to Frickenhaus, who conducted a small excavation at Cleonai in 1912, it belonged to an exedra, of which, at the time, a whole row of stones could be seen.¹⁷

Near the Khan of Kourtessa Cockerell noticed the ruins of a Doric temple and a fragment of a statue. Frickenhaus dug there, and laid bare the remains of a small poros Doric temple - from the plan apparently tetrastyle prostyle - of a late period; most of the high orthostate blocks were still standing, and other pieces - column drums, architrave, triglyph, geison, and sima - were nearby. On a large base in the interior was a fragment of a powerful male cult statue; before it were two cuttings where perhaps a table for offerings once stood. Opposite the portico were two Ionic column bases in situ and, behind them, an enclosure of the same period and size as the temple. The enclosure had a door behind the bases, and within could be seen the ends of two parallel ashlar foundations (breadth - 1.80 m.) which Frickenhaus¹⁸ thought might have been altars.

Paus.(2.15.1) tells us that Cleonai possessed the tomb of Eurytus and Kteatus, the two sons of Actor whom Heracles slew here when they were on their way to the Isthmian Games; Diodorus(4.33) adds that Eurytus was slain *περὶ Κλεωνάς ἐνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους*. The Doric temple may well be that of Herakles (as Gell and Leake thought, and Frickenhaus considered and the grave²⁰ probable) should not be far distant. J. Schmidt, indeed, conjectures that²¹ the blocks of the exedra are possibly part of the tomb of Eurytus and Kteatus.

THE PASSES

To return to the roads which lead south - Paus.(2.15.2) says: "*Ἐκ Κλεωνῶν εἰσὶν εἰς Ἄργος ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ*

δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὄρων,
 ὅχλησι δὲ ἐστὶν ^{ὁμῶς} ἐπιτηδειότερα. The former is a short-cut - tiring in places -

using the path south from the village of Agios Basileios, whereas the latter is the narrow easy pass of the Tretus or Dervenakia, which the modern highway and railroad follow, and which we will go through first.

PASS OF THE TRETUS supposed to be the Darvaz. Low Turkish settlements.

This Tretus ("pierced") route must always have been the easiest for anyone travelling from Northern Greece and the Isthmus to the Argolid and the interior of Peloponnesus. In classical times the name was believed to have come from the huge cave of the Nemean Lion in the nearby mountains, but Clark objects that there are no more caves here than elsewhere and that "the glen is, as it were, DRILLED through the rock". Clark is also the skeptic who disbelieves in the ancient chariot ruts which Frazer and others claim are often visible in the pass; he thinks that such ruts have been eroded by water running in the scratches caused by wood which donkeys have dragged behind them. As I walked through the pass I checked for the ruts, but did not see any likely to be those of an ancient road.

The strategic importance of this pass is such that it contains ancient, Turkish, and more recent defensive works - some of which one meets before one ever enters the Tretus itself. If you were to cut through the hills southwest of Cleonai, you could strike the modern highway where it has climbed up to the railroad station of Nemea; to your right is a modern bunker, and to your left - high on the mountain slope (and probably out of sight because you are rather far west) - is the monument of Kolokotronis, commemorating a crushing defeat of the Turkish army in this area in 1822 during the Greek War of Independence. Perhaps ten minutes farther on an asphalt sideroad now slips west over the hills, following the route to Nemea and Phlius. The

main road passes another bunker on the right, descends slowly to the Khan of Dervenakia in the low bend ahead. To your left is the mass of Mt. Keeteras, covered with rock outcroppings; on your right is more rolling country with fields, but down to the right of the Khan, and opposite Keeteras, rises Kolokotronis, the second of the two heights at the head of the pass (Fig.1). On top of these are supposed to be the Derweni. Low Turkish watchtowers, they are now in ruins and seemed invisible from both the road and the railroad; natives of the district said that one had to climb up to see them. On these rocky slopes are also said to be rough stone walls such as the Greeks built in their revolution, and traces of classical defences (perhaps the round watch tower above Nemea Station, which I will take up in Section 11).

Your road twists down through the trees and few buildings (which include a prosperous mill, for the place has an excellent supply of water) of the Khan of Dervenakia (where Vischer once spent a night in a room where the wind whistled on all six sides of him! ²³). South of the khan, by a stream and in a slightly more open area, Gell reports seeing a structure called ²⁴ 'Ελλήνων λιθόρι; apparently it was on an arbutus-covered rise to the right, but, despite all the instructions, I could find no trace of it (and the people who live nearby had never heard of it). Gell's notes reveal that it contained the outline of a door, and Vischer refers to it as the foundations of an old tower, probably that of Polygnotus, where Aratus and his friends met when he went out from Argos to free Sicyon (²⁵ v. Plut. Arat. 6.7). Just south of the khan and again on a hillock to the right, a modern military installation covers the road coming up through the defile from the Argolid.

Gell also mentions a "heap" - possibly a tumulus or a "heroic sepulchre" - ²⁶ about eight minutes from 'Ελλήνων λιθόρι. In such a "heap" - but on the left rather than the right side of the road as Gell specified - I found the first

The walk from the place where the road slipped through the Pass of the Tretus to the northwest of the valley (the pass ends at the Argive Plain) as it was in better state. It was a large round dirt hole, with a doorway cut in the earth about four feet above the bottom; the dirt sides, which curved in slightly as they rose, continued upward about ten feet above the base of the doorway; at the top were about three courses of rubble wall chinked with mud. About one foot below the rubble was a large hole (perhaps for a beam?), and there were many small stones - but no sherds-around. The example near the khan had perhaps a little more slant to the sides and about three feet of rubble above, but there was not much of a doorway and earth had fallen down inside. The shape reminded me of the chamber of a beehive tomb, but of course my holes have no dromoi, practically no masonry, etc. I originally recorded them because I thought that they might have been some other type of early tomb, but I have been unable to find any references to them, and I suppose that they may be something very modern.

Our road rose a little after leaving the khan, but now is slowly descending between high mountains, with a brook - shaded by a few trees - on its left. It winds gradually down, occasionally passing a house. After about an hour, we round another sharp bend (where a pillbox looks across into the eastern mountain valleys) and enter the narrow apex of the Argive plain. The high hills with their rocky outcroppings are still quite close but the flat land is beginning to widen. We have now left the pass and to our right lies the first of the valleys which stretch into the mountains to the west of the Argive plain like long fingers; down this western valley came the ancient road from Phlius, passing an Argive blockhouse on the way. Our own road from Tretus would now be in sight of any watchers in the blockhouse at Mycenae station.

The walk from the place where the asphalt sideroad slipped off to Nemea, through the Pass of the Tretus to the northeast of the valley running up toward Phlius took about one and three-quarter hours. And we are still about one hour (of easy walking) from Mycenae, not yet in sight. We have actually taken a detour from Cleonai; the more direct route is to go straight from the northern city to the Guni Pass, behind and a little to the west of the modern village of Agios Basileios, and much closer to Cleonai than the Dervenakia. This ^{is} the first of Pausanias' two roads - the brief one for active men.

PASS OF GUNI

The ravine of Guni is a gash in the southern rock wall; along its stony bed an ever-diminishing donkey track picks its intricate way upward (Fig. 2). The first big zigzag is visible from Agios Basileios, and the path is easily reached. As you approach the ravine, you see in the distance the remains of a long straight line of masonry running east-west across the lower slope of the mountain. At close range, near your path, this is seen to be Roman opus incertum, the ruins of an aqueduct (Fig. 3) - apparently that by which Hadrian brought water from Lake Stymphalus to Corinth (v. Paus 2.3.5; 8.22.3). The "spring" in one of the small arches is quite close as you begin your climb.

To your right rises the steep rocky mass of Koutsouria; behind it is the higher Koutoulia. The height on your left is crowned with the walls and towers (and house ruins too, I was told, though I did not go close enough to see) of a medieval castle built by the Venetians. East again and a little south of the fortress, towers Mt. Daphnias, the highest elevation in the area. The path up Guni is rough and steep, and the ravine becomes somewhat gloomy and forbidding as the high rock walls close in and one loses sight

of the valley below, but the climb involved is of course much easier than the task of toiling over Daphnias.

When the gorge widens near the top, you follow the narrow defile on the left to the northwest corner of a broad upland valley. Here a cairn marks the site of an old chapel of St. John; the foundations show that it was only a tiny church, and you can make out the little apse, though I did not see the Doric capital which Lolling found in the building. To your left a trail leads southeast to the modern village of Stephani, somewhere beyond the eastern hills; south of you is a rolling valley with farmhouses along the deeply-cut river bed in the center, and cultivated fields spreading out on either side. From the ruined chapel you can see the peak of Prophetis Elias far to the southwest, and an easy walk in that direction will soon bring you to a footpath to Mycenae. But when you leave the southwest corner of the valley and come to an inconspicuous cool spring with one or two trees, you should turn off the good path and cross the ridges to the north slope of Prophetis Elias. Otherwise you will, after some time, descend into the Argive plain far north of Mycenae (up very near the apex, I believe - at any rate just north of the little pointed hill which one sometimes confuses with flat-topped Mycenae).

The ancient path may have kept to the west side of the upland valley as I did, or it may have followed the stream bed downward, as Frazer believed. The latter, however, would seem to be the case, for Frazer found a fortress of some extent with circuit wall and tower of polygonal masonry at the northern foot of Prophetis Elias. He says that the fort was obviously built to defend the route, which goes right through it, and that there are several springs in the area. Unfortunately I did not find these ruins, possibly because I did not go far enough east.

A footpath (admittedly almost invisible at times) fairly high up on Prophetis Elias leads round to Mycenae. On the northwest slope a shepherd showed me some of the ruts of the old Mycenaean road; I knew that Frazer mentioned the existence of such traces, but I could never have found them by myself on those uneven rocks. After walking through sloping wheat fields and taking a little path to the right, one sees in the distance the tree-lined road from Phychtia to Mycenae; and a few feet further on the flat-topped hill of Mycenae comes into sight, the walls looking particularly impressive when one is just across the Kokaretza ravine to the north of the city. This shorter route from the southern edge of the valley of Cleonai to Mycenae took me the best part of four hours.

TENEA AND THE KLENIA-BERBATI-CHONIKA PASS

There is yet another north-south route into the Argolid which I wanted to investigate. It runs from the modern village of Klenia (on the side of a mountain south of Chiliomodion) through the valley of Berbati (Prosymna) and the lower Kleisoura, and enters the plain of Argos northeast of Chonika. Xenophon (Hellenica 4.4.14, Agésilas 2.17) tells us that King Agésilas, after laying waste the territory of the Argives, marched thus via Tenea to Corinth (391 B.C.).

A rough stony road leads south from Chiliomodion to modern Kato Klenia and ancient Tenea; the two or three buildings of Epáno Klenia are a little farther up the slope, but within the lifetime of present inhabitants, nearly everyone has moved down to the lower village, because here - by the ancient site - there is more water. If you walk down the main street of Klenia, take a side street to the left and the path past the local school, you will climb a little rise and find yourself on top of the small acropolis of Tenea. In ancient authors there is little information about the place. It is described by Strabo (8.6.22 p.380) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Tenea)

as a Corinthian *κώμη*. Pausanias (2.5.4) adds that it is about sixty stades from the Teneatic Gate by Acrocorinth, and that the Teneates claim to be Trojans taken prisoner in Tenedos by the Greeks but later allowed by Agamemnon to live in Tenea; because of their origin they worship Apollo most of all. Aristotle (frag. 552) remarks that the peoples of Tenea and Tenedos are related through Tennes the son of Cycnus. Strabo (8.6.22 p.380) tells us that Tenea has a temple of Teneatan Apollo,³² and that this is the place where Polybus is said to have raised Oedipus. He also writes that most of the colonists who went with Archias of Corinth to found Syracuse (traditional date - 734) were from Tenea, that after their departure Tenea prospered more than the other communities and finally even had its own government. In due time it rebelled against Corinthian rule, joined the Romans, and continued to flourish after the destruction of Corinth.³³ Curtius makes the interesting suggestion that Tenea's claim to Trojan descent may have had something to do with Mummius' considerate treatment of the little center in 146. Whatever the influence of genealogies on the Roman general, a glance at the map will show that Tenea must have always had some commercial and political usefulness and importance because of her position at the head of one good pass down to the Argolid and near the road going west to the principal connection (Tretus).

In May, 1954, the flat top of the acropolis (below and a little to the northeast of the modern village) was a waving field of wheat. Of the pieces of walls and few foundations which Frazer mentions as being at the site I found nothing;³⁴ however, on the rocky north slope of the hill, where there is a series of terraces, I noticed coarse sherds, some broken tiles, and - in at least one place - what may have been foundation lines on the bed rock. Frazer writes that there are separate graves and groups of graves hewn in the rock on this side. I visited one low cave with such graves just a little

below (and again to the northeast of) the top of the hill. There is a short passageway, then a room with a low curved roof and three rectangular graves— one on every side except that of the door. Everything has been cut out of the rock. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any other reference to this, and I do not know to what period the burials belonged.

The first part of the Tenea-Argolid route now uses the stony road followed by the local bus for the village of Agionori. You walk southeast along the edge of the valley of Tenea (to Frazer "unattractive and inhospitable" but to me very much the opposite), where fertile fields slope gently upward on either side of a dry stream bed. ³⁵ Gradually the valley narrows, the cultivated area is left behind, and the road climbs up through the Kleisoura, the broad rock-walled northern entrance to the pass. Soon the high conical hill of Agionori is visible in front, and in the gully to your left the usual rock outcroppings are varied by a piece of ruined wall, part of an old mill. The well-preserved walls and towers of the medieval castle on top of the mass of Agionori can be seen as you approach the hill from the north and skirt its northwest side to enter a rolling upland valley. To your right another road leads off along the south side of Nyphitza toward modern Stephani; at this crossroads Lolling says that there is a ruined chapel of the Panagia, ³⁶ but I do not remember noticing any traces of it. You are now about three-quarters of an hour from Tenea, and the village of Agionori is visible to your left, about half-way up the southwest slope of the mountain of the same name.

The road turns west, more or less ends at a large fountain with stone walls, two stone spouts, and a sizable drawbasin. Lolling thought that this was the icy spring mentioned in an ancient source in connection with the *Κοντοπορεία*, an ancient route in this area, and I will anticipate myself a

little to take up this possibility. According to Lolling, because of its extreme coldness this water near Agionori is famous, perhaps even superstitiously feared, but my guide - from Berbati, I admit - claimed that it was not unusually cold, and certainly the large cluster of women and donkeys using the water did not seem to be afraid of it. Unfortunately a storm was threatening and I hurried by without sampling it myself. I did watch for reused blocks, but saw none. Just to the west of it is the rocky bed of the river identified by

Beyond the mountain your route becomes a footpath, and you keep to the left whenever there is a cutoff. In a few minutes the trail strikes up over the high hill, leaving the rolling green valley behind. For about three-quarters of an hour you climb a crooked track of cut-up rocks, the right side of which is marked by a long line of whitish stones. From the summit, ³⁸ 670^m high according to Lolling's barometer, one can look south through a little ravine into the round Berbati valley far below; in the distance are the narrow lower Kleisoura, the Argive plain, and the blue Argolic Gulf.

As you zigzag downhill you can see - far to your right - a wide deep ravine with plunging rock walls, apparently the southwestern end of the fertile valley you left behind you. Perhaps in this gorge or in a smaller one nearby was the stream of spring water and melted snow which is another possibility for the source of the *Κοντοπορεία*. Your hill track levels out into a dirt road - in not particularly good condition - which leads between another rocky hill on the left and a dry stony river bed in a calmer ravine on your right into the flattish agricultural valley of Berbati.

The modern village straggles up a northeast slope a little farther on. There travellers report the existence of the foundations of a Greek tower eight feet square at the town spring; ³⁹ I did not find these and my friend from Berbati knew nothing of them. But he did point out the sites - across

the empty gully and to the west - of the old church of Agios Athanasios and the Byzantine chapel of Agios Georgios. The latter, according to earlier visitors (e.g. - Lolling), was decorated with numerous marble fragments; Curtius writes that there were some pieces of the Corinthian order.

From Berbati through the lower Kleisoura (the narrow pass between the valley of Berbati and the Argive plain) to Chonika runs a good *Σηπόριος* *Σπόριος*. Just to the west of it is the stony bed of the river identified by Steffen as Pausanias' Asterion (Paus. 2.15.5). Far to the west, beyond the fields, are the high pointed peaks of Prophetis Elias and Szara, with smaller Agrilo-Vunaki between and a little closer to us. The long high back of ancient Euboea - modern Aetovouno or "Eagle Mount" - towers to the south of the little plain, and at its foot a small hill with a rocky butte on top marks the Swedish excavations at Prosymna (Fig. 4). Incidentally my guide did say that in the tall trees by that little height is a spring with very cold water.

River bed and road come together to pass through the long narrow lower Kleisoura (Fig. 5). The high rock walls are clothed with earth part way up (so that there are a few fields) but above are cliffs, their vertical faces only occasionally broken by caves. The defile bends a little and is a longer walk than one would expect; it is a somewhat lonely and disturbing ravine, even with harvesters coming by, and one thinks of it as an excellent place for an ambush, ancient or modern.

About four and one-quarter hours after leaving Tenea (and one and one-quarter from Berbati) you are among the olive groves of the Argolid. The Heraeum, on a lower slope of Euboea, is about two and one-half miles to the northwest, Mycenae (hidden by the hills) - four and one-half miles in the same direction. If you take the trail and footpath from Chonika to the Heraeum, you can return to Mycenae on a path which follows - for the most part - the

line of the old Mycenaean road.

This route goes up and down over the ridges which connect Mt. Euboëa with the Argive plain. About ten minutes from the ruins of the sanctuary it passes just to the right of the royal tholos tomb excavated by Stamatakis in 1878;⁴² farther on, it dips down to *Φασέρκια* - now just a few trees and buildings and a well, but once perhaps the place of the Water of Freedom which Hera's priestesses used for purifications and secret sacrifices. The water is very cold and clear; the well itself contains many reused blocks, and one at the top shows rope marks. Apparently there was once a church of the Panagia here, and so the spring is sometimes called by that name too.⁴³ From this spot a trail, ever improving, leads down to Monasteraki and from thence to Mycenae, but I suspect that you would remain closer to the old route if you went through the fields and along the path to the ruins of the so-called "Cyclopean" bridge just above the Inn of the Fair Helen (Fig. 6). This wide causeway⁴⁴ of large unshaped blocks of local limestone laid in courses, more or less regular, and packed with smaller stones and clay⁴⁴ "crossed the ravine Chaos a little southwest of Mycenae, and its road presumably continued to the citadel on much the same route as its remote descendant, the modern asphalt highway.

Before dealing with the problem of the *ΚοντοΠερσία* I would like to mention one more Mycenaean road, that which ran east from the Fountain of Perseia. Its western end - between Mycenae and the spring Perseia on the saddle between Prophetis Elias and Szara - has apparently left no traces but there are remains farther on. Near Perseia a branch went north around the west side of Elias, as the ruts which the shepherd showed me testify, but another line climbed higher in the saddle, went round a rise, crossed a Cyclopean bridge and continued on the south side of the pointed peak Agrilo-Vunaki. There seem to be definite

traces of the road on this slope (from which one can look down into the western part of the mountain-ringed valley of Berbati); Steffen's map also marks another Cyclopean bridge to the east.⁴⁵ Lolling did not follow the route much farther, but he thought that it must have crossed the brook a little below Stephani or at Kolondero;⁴⁶ on their map Steffen seems to bring it into the Tenea-Berbati road at approximately the point where its modern successor comes in. It was thus Mycenae's most direct connection with Tenea and Corinth. Unfortunately I did not follow this route beyond the rise behind Mycenae, and so I cannot give any personal observations on it; I plan to return,⁴⁷ however, and walk from Perseia to the Mycenaean settlement at Berbati, and also from the fountain northeast to Stephani and Agionori.

THE KONTOPOREIA

One of our routes south into the Argolid was known in ancient times as the *κοντοπορεία*. Polybius (16.16) says that this Kontoporeia and Mycenae were very nearly southwest of Corinth (lit. *τοῦ Κορίνθου ... ἔγγιστα πρὸς δύσεις χειμερινάς*) and speaks of someone as entering the Kontoporeia and proceeding past Mycenae towards Argos (*παρὰ τὰς Μυκῆνας ... εἰς Ἄργος*). King Ptolemy, in the seventh book of his Commentaries (Ath. 2.43e), relates that when he was advancing to Corinth by the so-called *κοντοπορεία* and was ascending the mountain ridge, he came to a spring with water colder than snow - so cold, in fact, that though he drank it, many of his men did not, expecting that they would be frozen. These are our only classical references to the route under that special name; in attempts to determine which pass was involved, the meaning of the name itself (from ancient *κοντός* - staff, rather than the modern *κοντά* - near) has also been taken into account.

Κοντοπορεία - "staff-road" - would seem to indicate a route difficult enough, at least in part, to make a staff useful. At once topographers think

of Pausanias' short road for active men (Paus. 2.15.2 - *ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις... ἐπίτομος*), which goes through the ravine of Guni behind Agios Basileios and on down to Mycenae. Certainly Guni and part of the path around Prophetis Elias at the end of that route were the most difficult pieces of terrain (worse than the hill southwest of Agionori in the Tenea pass) which I encountered on my walks; a staff would have been useful in Guni, and yet troops could certainly come down it in single file (and the rest of the march up from Mycenae would not be much trouble). After going from Guni to Cleonai, they could continue to Corinth by the shorter road along the Longopotamos or go west to the site of modern Chiliomodion and come into the city from the east side of Acrocrinth.

⁴⁸ Leake and ⁴⁹ Frazer take the Agios Basileios pass as the *Κοντοπορεία*.

⁵⁰ Not so Curtius and, ⁵¹ apparently, Lolling. We have already noticed

that, according to Xenophon (Hell. 4.4.19; Ages. 2.17), King Agesilaus marched from the Argolid to Corinth via Tenea. His route, the Agionori Pass, has been considered the Kontoporeia along which Ptolemy's forces marched. Supporters of this theory point out that Tenea is closer than Agios Basileios to Corinth, but this hardly matters because *Κοντο-* does not mean "short" in this compound and, anyway, the shorter Guni pass and the trail by the Longopotamos could probably be covered in much the same amount of time as the distance from the southern Kleisoura to Tenea and on north to Corinth. Furthermore, that southern Kleisoura does not issue *παρὰ τὰς Μυκῆνας* but more *παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον*. This last point in particular has decided me against the Tenea-Berbati-Chonika route as the *Κοντοπορεία*. I do concede, however, that perhaps Lolling's Mycenaean road going east of Perseia, around Agrilo-Vunaki, northeast to Agionori, and down the Upper Kleisoura might fill the specifications. However, to the best of my knowledge, no one else has ever suggested this, and I have not yet walked the route to see how suitable it would be.

I am not helped by Ptolemy's icy spring. I have tested, seen, heard, or read of several springs in the general area, most of which could be considered to be on the king's path as he climbed a height on his way to Corinth, and I could produce one - albeit not icy - for the Agios Basileios route, the Mycenaean route, or the Berbati-Tenea route. At present I believe that the *Κοντοπορεία* ran behind the modern village of Agios Basileios through the ravine of Guni and the upland valley behind to Prophetis Elias and Mycenae. My suggestion about the Mycenaean route and the northern Kleisoura was idle speculation but indicates a possibility which I would like to check later.

11 MINOR ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS IN THE ARGOLID

Minor ancient fortifications in the Argolid include at least five ancient forts, two watchtowers, two "pyramids", and seven blockhouses. Most of these are indicated on the accompanying map, but here only the defences to the north and west of Argos will be discussed;

One of the watchtowers is about four kilometers west of Ligourio and beside the road to Epidaurus, but the other is at the top of one of the northern passes, and apparently just above the Nemea station of the railway. This latter tower would seem to have commanded the approaches in all directions; from it, on clear days, one could see Acrocorinth to the north and the Gulf of Nauplia to the south. At present only a round base (12 m. in diameter) of rough polygonal masonry remains. I could not pick it out from below, but perhaps I may find it when I return to the Agios Sostis road. L.E. Lord thought that such works at Nemea and Ligourio were "signal towers (Φρυκτώρια) used in the Mycenaean system of fortifications."

The best-preserved of the blockhouses is in the long valley which opens to the west of the modern Corinth-Argos highway and the apex of the Argive

plain. The building, perhaps two kilometers north of Phychtia, is about three kilometers west of the asphalt, and in ancient times the road to Phlius went past it. From the eastern end of the valley (from whence Mycenae cannot be seen), the blockhouse - low, flat and dark - is barely visible on one of the gentle slopes at the base of the high northern hills (Fig. 7). Just east of it a revma cuts down to the stream-bed on the south side of the valley.

In plan and purpose this blockhouse - generally known as the Nemea blockhouse - is a very good example of the type, and so it will be convenient to summarize the general characteristics here. Such buildings are small, square, (ca. 7x7m. to 10 x 10m.), and built of polygonal masonry; the smallest may have only one room, but generally there are indications of partition walls and two - often four - rooms. The largest examples have a characteristic fortress entrance and a long corridor from which a side door leads to the interior of the building. There are no windows, loopholes, or battlements, and apparently there were no second storeys. Water basins and parts of mill stones are frequently found in the building or nearby; indeed, that at Nemea has small channels - perhaps for the water supply - in its north and east walls.

As a general rule the blockhouses are in low areas by roads; if they had been intended to be watchtowers, they would surely have been erected in higher positions from which more could be seen. Since they have no loopholes or battlements, they would not have been very formidable defences during invasions, but, during more settled times, they could have been useful as patrol stations for small garrisons who could control the countryside, levy tolls on travellers on the roads, and retire to the blockhouses to beat off minor attacks. This situation would fit in with Argive history in the fourth century, the period to which two of them have been fairly definitely assigned. One of these fourth century buildings is the Nemea blockhouse. It was

excavated in 1937 by R. and A. H. Ehrich for L. E. Lord who published the results in Hesperia for 1938; for finer details and many excellent photographs I refer you to his article - here I will give only the more obvious facts.

The building, which on the inside is 9 x 9.20 m., is oriented almost exactly with the points of the compass; the four exterior walls are almost perfectly preserved, but the partitions inside are not in as good condition and the small rooms are now badly overgrown. The masonry, which Lord classifies as "polygonal tending to ashlar",⁵⁶ is of fairly large conglomerate blocks laid in seven or eight rough courses; and the resulting walls, about 3 m. high, are topped with a coping of slabs laid transversely across each wall. There is some drafting on the southeast corner of the building. The door, at the south end of the west side, looks out in the direction of Phlius (Fig. 8).

The western half of the interior consists of an entrance corridor and two small rooms, the eastern section - of two more rooms. At the main door are cuttings for the wooden door jamb and the door post, and in the center of the threshold of an inner door is a hole for "a vertical fastening bolt, or a brace".⁵⁷ Theoretically, the blockhouse could be supplied with some water by means of a channel in a block projecting on the exterior of the north wall (said water to run out by another channel in a corresponding block on the outside face of the east wall), but, in point of fact, these channels are scarcely more than scratches (Fig. 9), and no trace has ever been found of a possible aqueduct connecting this part of the building with the spring to the northwest. A little to the west of the blockhouse is a large round stone (hollow at the top), now filled with smaller stones, but probably once the lower part of a mill.

About 200 meters north of Mycenae station is a second blockhouse. It is in the center of the plain (now fairly narrow, being near the apex of its

triangle), and presumably watched over the road coming south from Tretus and probably that running east to Mycenae as well (Fig. 10). Only the outline and a few stones of this blockhouse are left, and when excavated by L. E. Lord, A. Frantz, and C. A. Roebuck in 1939, it was found to have been completely cleared out in early Christian times, so that we have no strong evidence for its original date. ⁵⁸ It, too, is oriented almost exactly with the points of the compass. The exterior measurements of the base are 9.30 x 9.40 m. and the inferior polygonal masonry is of conglomerate blocks bedded on solid rock. The wall is ca. 2 m. high at the southeast corner where it is best preserved. At least one block of a north-south interior wall is still in place, but no trace was found of any other partitions or of an entrance corridor. To the right of the railroad is a large drum and an upper millstone (Fig. 11), and 10 m. to the north of the blockhouse were found traces which might have been the walls of a cistern.

Lord notes that in the long valley which runs west behind Phychtia there is a "ruined fortress of considerable dimensions". ⁵⁹ He speaks of its polygonal masonry, and mentions that there are two enclosures - one about the other ca. 20 m. square ⁶⁰ 7 m. square. Lehmann marks these on his useful map; the larger is on the northern side of the valley (a typical western Argive inlet, with high hills on either side and mountains at the far end), about 500 m. west of Phychtia, and the smaller is on the other side of a revma and perhaps 500 m. south of the first. The two together must have insured a very effective control of the road coming in from the west.

The larger enclosure is in a very ruinous state, and hence exact description is difficult, but it seems to have been more than 20 m. square - or if 20m. square, to have had a 7 m. square room, built on to the west end of its south side. The north wall is about 20 m. long, and the west wall runs about 7m.

south of it before ending just above a little tobacco patch; the patch is about 12 m. long, and counting the weedy intervals between tobacco and ruins to north and south, there is a good 20 m. between the north wall and the 7 m. square room which begins just south of the second line of weeds. But perhaps these are the two enclosures of the fort, and the 7 m. square building 500 m. to the south is another unexcavated blockhouse not listed with the others.

The western and northern walls of the larger enclosure are the parts best preserved. They are polygonal and of rough conglomerate, and their present maximum height (measured on the west side) is 1.90 - 2.0 m. The last few meters at the east end of the north wall are only an outline in smaller stones half buried in the ground (Fig. 12). The building was divided by a north-south partition wall, part of which is still standing to a height of two courses. The bottom of the east room is packed solid with little stones - doubtless thrown in by farmers trying to clean the neighboring fields. The same is true of the lower part of the 7 m. square room to the south; the south side of this tower can be made out from conglomerate blocks in situ just to the north of the path up from Phychtia. There are a few scattered blocks between this room and the walls to the north.

The other 7 m. square building 500 meters to the south was full of rubble when I visited the site; ploughs had been driven through the interior and while the outline is still quite clear, not many of the blocks are left. It is best preserved on the south, west (two courses in one place) and part of the north sides. A few of the stones can be seen in a very low retaining wall by a nearby field.

The two "pyramids" near Ligourio and Kephalaria are apparently also block-houses, though of an odd - and inexplicable - shape. That by Ligourio is only standing to a height of two courses above the foundation, but the other,

not far from Argos, is quite well preserved. It is southwest of the modern village of Kephalaria and about two kilometers from the source of the Erasinus; in ancient times it was just north of the road from Argos to Tegea, which here goes west through the valley of the Cheimarros - the revma south of the pyramid. The building stands on a foothill of Mt. Chaon, and L. E. Lord thinks that while travellers from Argos, Tegea, and Mantinea could come quite close before being noticed, those from Sparta might be visible for some time before they arrived.⁶²

The pyramid at Kephalaria was excavated by Wiegand in 1901 and by the Ehrichs for L. E. Lord in 1937; consequently, for a detailed description and numerous photographs one should again consult Mr. Lord's article in Hesperia 7 (pp. 498 - 527). He gives the measurements at the base as 14.70 m. on the west, 12.58 m. on the north, 8.62 m. on the east, and 8.61 m. on the south; the smaller figures for the latter two sides are due to the offset for the door in the southeast part of the building. The east wall is best preserved (in one place to its "complete original height" of 3.40 m.), the north and south sides being in poorer condition (but even on the south the polygonal masonry goes up above the foundations for five courses) and the west rather fallen down. At ground level these outer walls are 8'-9' thick; their inner surfaces are vertical but the outer faces incline inward, thus forming the frustrum of a pyramid (which never was complete). The masonry, of a local hard grey limestone, is of larger blocks at the bottom, smaller farther up, and sometimes very small stones are used (Fig. 13). The polygonal work is better than that in the Nemea blockhouse but still indicates a fourth century date.⁶³

In the south part of the east side is the characteristic fortress entrance, here with a triangular opening above cuttings for a lintel (Fig. 14). More

cuttings for door bars are on the north side of the doorway, and behind it a long passage runs west to the far wall. There another door leads from the corridor into the interior; the stone jambs can still be seen. An east-west partition divided the rest of the building (7.10 m. square according to Mr. Lord) in half and there are cuttings for beams in the north wall, but not very much is known about the inner rooms. Mortar was used for repairing the pyramid - perhaps at a very late date - and is to be found in the interior, but not below the floorline ("except perhaps in the cistern" ⁶⁴), nor on the exterior. Because of this mortar the building, which has been dated as early as the sixth century B. C. has also been placed in the first century B. C.; Mr. Lord would date it in the fourth century on the basis of stylistic reasons and the parallels in the Nemea blockhouse.

Yet another blockhouse lies about 425 m. southeast of the pyramid. In May, 1954, it was a little difficult to find, because the few blocks were quite inconspicuous among the stubble of the field. It is still north of the Cheimarros (in whose dry revma pink oleander was blooming when I passed by), and was closer than the pyramid to the old road from Argos to Tegea. When excavated by L. E. Lord, A. Frantz, and C.A. Roebuck in 1939, it too was found to have been cleared out in early Christian times, and hence no ceramic evidence of occupation in the Hellenistic period was discovered. ⁶⁵ The building was 10.20 m. square and was oriented slightly off the points of the compass; its walls, set on poros foundations, were inferior polygonal masonry of the same local limestone as the much better work in the nearby Kephalaria pyramid. At present the outline of the blockhouse's walls is especially clear on the west and south sides. One can also make out the remains of interior walls of small stones and a few reused blocks; perhaps some of the other small stones scattered about are from the supplementary building later

erected at the southeast corner of the main structure.

Farther up the valley are two more blockhouses, both about 7 m. square. They too are on the old road from Argos and Mantinea; apparently the eastern one is at the place from which the traveller gets his last glimpse of the Gulf of Nauplia, the western at the point where the route splits - one line crossing over to Mantinea via the Pass of *Σκάλα* and the other going southwest to Hysiai and thence by Parthenion to Tegea. A shepherd to whom I talked knew of the existence of these ruins, but unfortunately it was too late to visit them on that particular day.

One last western blockhouse is about 4 kilometers from Lerna and perhaps 40 meters to the right of the place on the modern highway to Tripolis where the climb up through the hills begins. I did not stop to look at it, but according to Mr. Lord only a few stones are left. Apparently it was 7.100 m. square, oriented on the lines of the compass, and built of the grey limestone, the polygonal work being inferior to that of the blockhouses at Kephalaria and Mycenae. No interior walls were found. Like the structures at Mycenae and Phychtia it was built in a plain - in a location not particularly suitable for a watch tower but very useful for a control station on an ancient road.

111 TEMENIUM, SEPEIA, AND THE ERASINUS

Temenium was a small town on the Argive coast. Strabo (8.6 p. 368) says that it is 26 stades from Argos and by the sea; Pausanias (2.38.1) estimates the distance from Nauplia as 50 stades and adds that there are sanctuaries of Poseidon and Aphrodite and a tomb of Temenus at the place.

From this data and a few finds on the site, early travellers located Temenium on a stretch of firm ground between the mouth of the Inachus and the estuary of the Erasinus (Fig. 15); the area is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers southeast of modern Argos, and the prosperous little village of Nea Kios

is now a few meters north of the waterfront. Descriptions in Frazer⁶⁸ and
 Curtius⁷⁰ dwell on the flat swampy character of the rest of this coast; Leake,
 as a matter of fact, did not visit Temenium because that part of the plain
 was too marshy at the time of his trip.⁷¹ But in June of 1954 I found the
 ancient site and most of the lower coast toward Myloi and toward Nauplia
 quite dry, except for the occasional stream and a strip of reeds (ca. 20 m.
 wide) which lies between the sea and the road running east of Temenium.

Frazer writes that on the shore are foundations, blocks of masonry,
 fragments of tiles, and sherds; in the sea - remains of a mole of large
 stone blocks.⁷² Unfortunately I did not find anything - even sherds - which
 looked particularly ancient,⁷³ but that might have been due to the increased
 activity in the district. Fertile farms now fill the lower part of the plain,
 and there is a factory to the west - and another to the east - of the higher
 ground of classical Temenium. The mole has been replaced by a pier (very
 long because the water is quite shallow) to which the caiques come.

It is this harbour of Temenium which gives the site its interest for
 me. In 417 the democrats at Argos began to build Long Walls down to the
 gulf. Thucydides (5.82.5 f.) tells us that they were afraid of the Lacedaimonians
 and thought that if the Spartans cut them off from their land, the Athenians
 could bring them provisions by sea. Alcibiades is supposed to have urged
 them to build the walls and to have brought carpenters and stone masons from
 Athens (Plut. Alcib. 15.2-3). The Argives, their wives, and their slaves
 worked diligently, but the next winter the Lacedaimonians and their allies
 (except for the Corinthians) came and tore down the walls - presumably not
 yet finished (Thuc. 5.83.1-2; Diod. Sic. 12.81). The projected terminus
 for these walls must have been the nearest suitable harbour, and Temenium
 has often been suggested. E. Meyer (R. E. s.v. Temenion) thinks that this

surmise is correct and a visit to the area showed me that Temenium really is the most likely place.

A brief walk to the east or west takes you to names familiar from earlier Argive history. In the plain east of the Inachus was fought the Battle of Sepeia (traditional date - 494 B.C.) in which Cleomenes - according to all accounts by a trick - decisively defeated the Argives.⁷⁴ He had landed his troops at Nauplia and camped in the neighbourhood of Tiryns; the Argives, when they learned of his arrival, marched down to the sea and to a place called Sepeia, which was near his position. Later on the Spartan king impiously burned a grove of Argos; it too must have been in this plain.

Cleomenes had originally intended to invade the Argolid from the southwest, but was prevented by the river Erasinus, which flows just to the west of Temenium (Fig. 16). According to Herodotus (8.76) he came to the banks and sacrificed but then turned and led his troops to Thyrea (whence they later sailed to Nauplia) because the victims were not favorable for crossing the stream.

Even for a traveller undeterred by such religious scruples the Erasinus is not everywhere an easy river to ford. The ancient Greeks explained its plentiful supply of water by the theory that it all came underground from the Stympheian Lake.⁷⁵ Near the eastern foot of Mt. Chaon, where the river rushes forth from the rocks, it does flow in shallow channels at times only one foot deep (Fig. 17), but lower down, on the other side of the modern highway, one sometimes cannot see the bottom. Not far from its mouth Erasinus is about 20 feet wide and probably more than 7' deep. A depth of 6-7 feet is usual for a long stretch between the shore and the asphalt. Admittedly these figures were taken in June before the long hot summer months, and I do not know if there is always that much water in the river, but it is

interesting to note that the stream was so high at a time when all the other rivers of Argos were already dry (though the sea was kindly flowing up Inachus' mouth for a few meters - Fig. 18) and Eurotas in the Laconian plain was reported to have no more than three feet of water in its deepest places. Erasinus flows all year round, and because of that fact and its own beauty and that of the fertile country which it waters, well deserves the name "the lovely river". Its course is very brief but difficult to estimate (Frazer, op. cit., p. 211 - ca. 3 miles; Clark, op. cit., p. 101 - "something more than a mile") because it winds so much; the walk from the mouth to the caves at the springs by Kephalaria is pleasant and takes at least two hours.

IV ORNEAI

Orneai, like Cleonai, appears sufficiently often in fifth century Greek history to make one curious about it. Strabo (8.6.17 p. 376) describes the place as an Argive κώμη and Pausanias (2.25.6) remarks that Phlius and Sicyon are on the other side of it, so Orneai would seem to have been a border town in one of the valleys in the northwest corner of the Argolid. It is mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of the ships (Il. 2.571) and was apparently supposed to be very old. E. Meyer (R. E. s.v. Orneai) thinks that the town was still independent in early historical times; he cites as evidence Pausanias 10.18.5, where we read that the Orneates gave bronze figures to Delphi as a thankoffering for a victory over the Sicyonians. But Argos seems to have subjected Orneai quite early (Paus. 8.27.1 and cf. 2.25.6 where we are told that the Argives removed all the citizens to Argos); the κώμη became a perioecic community of her powerful southern neighbor - Ορνεῖται was another word for perioeci at Argos (cf. Herod. 8.73). At Mantinea in 418 troops from Orneai fought as allies of the Argives (Thuc. 5.67, 72.4); casualties among the Cleonaians,

Argives and Orneates amounted to 700 slain (Thuc. 5.74.2). About 417/416 the Spartans settled oligarchic exiles from Argos in our northwest border town; nettled, the Argives - with the aid of Athenian reinforcements - took the place and razed it to the ground (Thuc. 6.7.1-2; cf. Diod. 12.81.4 f. for some different details). But Orneai must have risen again, for in 352 the Lacedaimonians who had been fighting the Argives nearby, gained possession of the city (Diod. 16.39.4). In later years the place declined, until Strabo (8.6.24 p.382) in the first century B.C. could describe it as deserted.

To the best of my knowledge the site has never been definitely identified. We know from Pausanias (2.25.5-6) that it was 60 stades from Lyrkeia, just as Lyrkeia was 60 stades from Argos, and that it contained a sanctuary and an upright wooden image of Artemis as well as a temple to all the gods; Strabo (8.6.24 p. 382) adds that there was a famous shrine of Priapus, and that the river flowing by the town was named Orneas after the town itself. This river is apparently the stream running by Leondi and Palaio-Leondi (now modern Gymno, for Gymno has moved down from an older location in the hills) to join Asopus from the west. Ross⁷⁸ looks for Orneai by Leondi, but Bursian⁷⁹ prefers Palaio-Leondi, which is also my choice.

Let us examine the route up from Argos. Argive troops marching on Orneai would leave their own city by the gate at Deiras, the ridge between the Larissa and the Aspis, and would follow the Mantinea road (Fig. 19), which crosses the Charadrus and Inachus Rivers, goes up the Inachus Valley, and finally passes over Mt. Lyrkeion at the notch now known as Πόρτες but in ancient times called Κλίμαξ.⁸⁰ When 60 stades from Argos they would come to Lyrkeia, another Argive κώμη (Strabo 8.17 p.376) whose exact location is not certain. Renaudin (B.C.H., 1923, pp. 232-234) thinks that it was at Schenochori, the village on the south slope of the hills near the entrance to the Inachus

Valley, but it has been placed elsewhere - Leake (Peloponnesiaca, p. 268), for example, suggests Skala on a slight rise to the north of the road at the point where one catches one's last glimpse of the Larissa. Skala is marked by the ruins (only a few feet high) of a square medieval tower built on Greek foundations; the ground is said to be strewn with sherds. It is true that Skala has also been identified with the Saminthos ravaged along with other places by Agis and the Lacedaimonians in 418 (Thuc. 5.58.5), but this identification is probably incorrect. Schenochori is perhaps a little too close to Argos, but Skala (ca. 16 kilometers from Argos) is about the right distance and may very well be ancient Lyrkeia.

From Skala the route continues northwest along the river valley; a little beyond the modern village of Sterna you turn right on a *δρόμος* *δρόμος*, in good condition and built by the Italians in 1942. This road follows a stream bed between picturesquely eroded cliffs, then turns and winds up among the hills. The view back to the western mountains is magnificent. Soon one enters a pretty upland valley crossed by a dry river bed; then there are more scrub-covered hills and another open stretch with ploughed fields. Further climbing allows one to look down into a large fertile valley with plots of waving grain; this last is the territory of Gymno or Palaio Leondi and the largest and most attractive piece of land between Sterna and the Phliasian Plain (Fig. 20). Beyond, to the north, Leondi and its little glen (Fig. 21) can be seen before the heights close in on the passage to Phlius.

Just south of the rise at the southern entrance to Gymno's valley are supposed to be the ruins of a cyclopean tower. They are apparently on a little hill to the east of a spring shaded by a few cypresses. Unfortunately I went along this part of the route at dusk and in a great hurry, and, not knowing of the existence of any *ἀρχαία* there, I thought that the blocks in

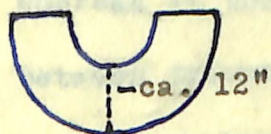
the distance were probably more deceptive outcroppings and so did not investigate. But the people of Gymno claim that the *βουνολάκι* is the site of an ancient tower; they say that the big stones are mostly scattered, that no part of the wall is now more than a meter high, but that the outline can be made out. The ancient road from Orneai to Lyrkeia must have passed close by, and this could be one of the blockhouses often found in such locations. At any rate I would like to return and see what the ruins are and if the "tower" could have been one of Mr. Lord's Argive "control stations".

My strongest reason for considering the valley of Gymno (or Palaio Leondi) to be that of Orneai is its nature and location. It is in approximately the position indicated by the ancient sources; it has the river - now called Gymno after the modern village just as it was once known as Orneas - after the ancient town. And, most of all, it is by far the largest area of fertile land in the neighbourhood and has an excellent water supply; I simply cannot believe that the Orneates would have been content with any of the poorer glens when they could have had this one. Of interest is the fact that Gymno's valley is now part of the northern border of the modern Argolid; when you reach Leondi, you are in Corinthian territory.

I arrived at Gymno with no more information about its *ἀρχαία* than Frazer's ⁸⁴ laconic statement - "ruins are said to exist" at Palaio Leondi. Unfortunately, I did not see anything (except, perhaps, one stone) which dated from the classical Greek period but the villagers, who are convinced that the ancient site was in their valley, showed me some later remains. In and among the houses in the northeast part of the village is a curving rubble wall which is said to run in a large circle of roughly 50 hektaria; in one place where it barely appears above the ground it is held together with mortar and some flat bricks. At this point it is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide on top, and the people

claim that it goes down about 1 m. and has large stones at the bottom. (On request they will show this rather late specimen - ask for the "theater"!).

They also reported that a limestone lion's head was found here and is now in the museum at Nauplia. In another wall behind the piece with mortar I saw a reused block which seemed quite old; it was one half of a round stone (which looked somewhat like marble) with a large hole pierced through the middle (i.e.-



To the east of the valley is the high mountain of Megalovouni. On its lower slopes, and at least 500 meters from the road to Leondi, are rubble heaps which are pointed out as more *ἀρχαία*. A long elliptical stony area is called the *μεγάλο κτίριον*; a smaller enclosure is said to have been the site of the church of Agia Soteiria. Farther down are supposed to have been *σπίτια* but the remains there look like any other rubble retaining walls. However, in the field near the *μεγάλο κτίριον* I found two good Byzantine sherds (one from the lip of a dish) which make a join. The villagers also told me a wonderful story about the finding of *Λατινικά* inscriptions in a cave by a small *revma* high up on the mountain.

There must have been something on the slope of Megalovouni in Byzantine and/or later times - even if it was not much more than a church with Byzantine plates on the facade ⁸⁶ - but I think that the classical town was perhaps over at the modern village of Gymno where the water supply is particularly good and that limestone lion's head is supposed to have been found. Gymno is at the western end of the valley, where the land rises quite steeply to the mountains; it is quite far from the northern and southern entrances to its district and strangers from Argos or Phlius would not be visible until they were inside the valley itself, but from the ruins on Megalovouni, not

much more can be seen in the direction of Argos, and in the direction of Phlius only the neighboring valley of Leondi and a little of the passage beyond are clear.

The district of Orneai or Gymno has better natural connections with the north and the Phliasian plain than with the south and the Argolid, however. The road north is much shorter and keeps to the flat land at the bottom of the valleys; whereas it took me $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours to climb through the mountains and upland glens between Sterno and Gymno, less than an hour's walk was necessary for the stretch between Gymno and the edge of the Phliasian plain. One goes through the valley of Leondi (much smaller than that of Gymno but still fertile) and a rather narrow ravine beyond, and then one is in the southwestern corner of the large prosperous plain of Phlius (Fig. 22).⁸⁷

Some distance to the north (at least 750 meters) and on rising ground are ruins called *τεντούκια* ("trunk, box" in Modern Greek). They are $2\frac{1}{2}$ k. from Leondi and watch over the road coming up from Orneai and Argive territory to the Phlasiā. Presumably they are the remains of a Phliasian fort. There is a well-constructed ashlar wall of large conglomerate blocks (Fig. 23); it runs more or less east-west and at one point the masonry is preserved to a height of three courses of ashlar (and beneath the lowest row of ashlar is a course of smaller stones). At the western end you can trace the wall for 4 m. before coming to a gap of ca. 3 m. where there may have been an entrance. Then there is a slight jog and about another 20 m. of wall (usually just one course of the ashlar). At the eastern end is a path and the block beyond is probably not in situ. One or two more blocks which are south of the wall by about the width of a narrow road might be in situ. A few other blocks are scattered around; one just north of the wall has a shallow cutting ca. 14" x 28" on top. In the field nearby are coarse sherds

and several large pieces of tiles. The structure was pointed out to me as a possible candidate for the ruins at Orneai, and once I rejected it, I did not worry too much about what it actually was; I suppose that it was some sort of fortification of the Greek period - perhaps fourth century, maybe a little earlier, quite possibly later.

V HYSIAI

Orneai was the town nearest to the northwestern boundary of the Argolid; Hysiai was its counterpart in the southwestern section of the state. Pausanias (8.54.7) tells us that the boundary between Tegea and Argos was near Hysiai. The place is variously described as a *κώμη* (Strab. 9.404; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰγία*), a *χωρίον* (Thuc. 5.83.2; Diod. Sic. 12.81), a *φρούριον* (Diod. Sic. ibid.) and a *τόπος γνώριμος τῆς Αργολικῆς* (Strab. 8.376), this last because of the famous defeat of the Spartans by Pheidon of Argos in the plain nearby (traditional date - 669/668 B.C.). Bölte (R. E. s.v. Hysiai) thinks that Hysiai became dependent on Argos at a very early time, but regards as unhistorical Pausanias' statement (8.27.1) that the town, like other little cities of the Argolid, was depopulated to increase the strength of Argos. In the winter of 417/416 the Lacedaemonians - and their allies except for the Corinthians - not only tore down the Argive Long Walls, but also called at Hysiai. Thucydides (5.83.2) tells us that they took the place and slew all the freemen whom they caught; Diodorus (12.81) who has them killing all the inhabitants, adds that they razed the *φρούριον*. It was quite possibly restored later on, but the town was in ruins in Pausanias' time (Paus. 2.24.7).

In ancient times an Argive travelling to Hysiai would take the old road to Tegea. He would go south past Mt. Lycone and Mt. Chaon, would cross the Erasinus and turn up the valley of the Cheimarrus. If he was a man of a

suitable date in the fourth century or later he would have to "run the gauntlet" of the blockhouses (including the Kephalaria Pyramid) before going south over Mt. Pontinus to Cenchreae (generally identified with the ruins at Sta Nera). From Cenchreae he would descend to the route of the modern road to proceed the last two miles west to Hysiai, which was located on a hill in the north-eastern part of the mountain-ringed valley of Achladokambos.

A modern traveller from Argos will find the ancient site on the left side of the asphalt and very near the uppermost of the khans of the present village. A few feet from the inn is a church of the *Θεοτόκου τῆς Παναγίας*, and the highest rise of the hill of Hysiai is just beyond this chapel. It is really a very large hill, though one does not realize the fact until one is on the flat floor of the fertile valley far below (Fig. 24), and from the citadel the view of the district and the grey-green mountains around is splendid. To the south is the pointed peak of Parthenium (Fig. 25), and as you look west and north along its range you notice - a little in front - the rounded height which bears the ruined medieval castle of Palaio-Mouchli. The route of the modern and ancient roads to Arcadia and Sparta can be seen going around Parthenium's north foot; Hysiai watched over this vital connection and owed most of her importance - slight though it was - to that fact. North of the highway again is Artemisium with the jagged crest of Ktenias visible in the foreground. The other mountains just above Hysiai and to the east are high but not as impressive, and in the southeast corner of the valley the railroad finds a way (admittedly somewhat lowered in places by the hand of man) to slip out to the sea.

On our site the early travellers found walls and sherds. Lebas gives a plan of the fortifications of the acropolis and marks walls on the north, west, and a few meters of the south sides, as well as round towers at two

of the corners and in the curtains to west and north; however, when Vischer (op. cit., p. 329) was at Hysiai in 1856, many of the stones had just been removed - and apparently more were going to be - for use in houses nearby. The northern half of the western wall was being destroyed and the tower in the middle of that side had also disappeared. In view of this I was perhaps lucky to find as much of the fortifications as I did - a long stretch of wall on the north side, a very small piece on the south, traces on the west, but no towers anywhere (Fig. 29).

The wall on the north is now about 36 m. long (Fig. 26). For a fairly sizable stretch in the middle it is preserved to a height of 2.31 m., but at either end it is quite low, and at the east end you can just make out the line of it. Frazer describes the masonry as polygonal, adds that it rests on "a foundation of regular ashlar masonry"; one can recognize the polygonal but I could not make out the regular ashlar foundations. The bottom is closer than the upper part to the ashlar style, but even the bottom is not particularly close to regular ashlar. As the early travellers report, mortar is visible in many places in this wall.

Below the fortifications on the north the ground drops down quite steeply to a little ravine; the slope on the east side - where I found no ancient blocks - is also rather pronounced, and most of the south part of the acropolis was never walled because the rock there fell away sharply enough to give it sufficient protection (Fig. 127). But just at the west end of the south side, beyond the cliffs, are a few meters of polygonal masonry; nearly hidden by bushes, the stretch is only 2 courses (at most 3 ft.) high. I could not see any mortar in it. The west side of the citadel has a more gradual slope and at its southern end there are some blocks in situ (foundations or part of the lowest course) and hence for a short distance the line of that wall

FOOTNOTES

too can be made out.

1. I have found sherds on the acropolis is very good. Leake comments on the fact⁹¹ and apparently took "an ancient weight for spinning" away with him. In the grain fields on the height I found some fragments of tiles, some coarse⁹² sherds, and a great quantity of little pieces of inferior black glaze. There was more glaze just below the southern wall, but I did not notice any ancient sherds or tiles on the long steep slope between the summit and the plain.

The black glaze - somewhat dull, occasionally unevenly applied or of particularly poor quality - may date from the period before the destruction of the *φρούριον* in 417/416, or from a reoccupation of the citadel later on - perhaps in the late fifth century or in the fourth. The site seems to have been used again after 417/416; indeed the walls, if not quite late themselves, were certainly cemented together with that mortar at a date much later than the fourth century B.C.

Some Mycenaean sherds picked up in 1960

2. Strabo 8.377:

and gives the distance

to 20 stades.

3. On this route see

4. A Prehistoric Settlement

p. 1.

5. For a concise account

6. Strabo (8.382) puts

and Memina, a way

of the valley of

7. H.V. Head, Historical

2nd ed., p. 440.

8. For more information

FOOTNOTES -728.

1. I have found Sideris' map ^{ANAT.} ΑΡΓΟΛΙΔΟΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑ-Α ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑ very useful and have appended a section of it to the end of the paper. This map, unfortunately, does not give many details in the mountainous areas, but one can obtain some idea of the terrain from it. Most of the modern roads were found to be as indicated by Sideris; where they are not, I have made the necessary corrections or additions on the map. H. Lehmann's map in the first volume of his Argolis (Athens, 1937) and the British Army Map - Sheet 8 Korinthos - do not include all the districts involved in this paper but they seem to be more accurate and certainly give more details: (e.g. - carefully indicate the heights with contour lines); the Army Map in particular marks in the mule paths and gives the names - though not always the best known names - of most of the more prominent peaks. For the area around Mykenai Steffen's detailed maps in his Karten von Mykenai (Berlin, 1884) are very useful.
2. Strabo 8.377; Eustathius (Il. 290) copied Strabo here, but made a mistake and gives the distance from Cleonai to Argos - about twenty miles - as 20 stades.
3. On this route see Bölte, R. E. s.v. Kleonai, and C.W. Blegen, Zygouries A Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonai (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 1.
4. For a concise account of what is known about Cleonai, see Bölte, ibid.
5. Strabo (8.382) puts the territory of Cleonai on the east border of Phlius, and Embina, a κώμη which belonged to Cleonai, was in the northern part of the valley of Nemea.
6. B.V. Head, Historia Numorum A Manual of Greek Numismatics (Oxford, 1911), 2nd ed., p. 440.
7. For more information on this and Argos' subsequent action see Bölte, op.

- cit., 725-726. *Delos: Notes of Study and Travel* (London, 1938).
8. See Strabo 8.377 and Eustathius, Il. 290, for references to the Cleonates' part in the destruction of Mycenae.
9. See Head, op. cit., p. 44.
10. Cf. Eustathius, Il., 290 who here copies Strabo correctly.
11. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias (reprinted from J. H. S., 1885, 1886, 1887), p. 32, suggest that this statue is reproduced on a bronze coin from the time of the Emperor Geta where the obverse type is an archaic Athena in the pose of the Palladia - standing, and holding lance and shield.
12. J. G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece, 2nd ed. (London, 1913), vol. 3, p. 83.
13. E. Dodwell, A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece (London, 1819), vol. 2, p. 206.
14. W. Vischer, Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland (Basel, 1875), p. 286. *the Apollo of Sparta was found at Amlakia, a few kilometers to*
15. Frazer, op. cit., p. 83.
16. I.G. 4. 484; Collignon, B.C.H. 4(1880), pp. 46-47.
17. A. Frickenhaus, Arch. Anz. 28(1913), 113.
18. Ibid., 114-116. Unfortunately the whole of the enclosure was not cleared in 1912 when the Balkan War broke out, and I have been unable to find references to any further work at the site. When I visited Cleonai I did not know of this excavation, and I did not see either it or the ruins of the exedra.
19. Mnaseas F.H.G. 3.151.9 in Schol. Pind. Ol. 10.34g; Pind. Ol. 10.37.
20. Bölte, op. cit., 723. *mentions this tower*
21. Frazer, op. cit., p. 85 and the further reference there cited.

22. W. G. Clark, Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel (London, 1858), pp. 64-65. For Frazer's view about the ruts see Frazer, op. cit., v.3, p. 86.
23. W. Vischer, op. cit., p. 290.
24. W. Gell, Itinerary of Greece (London, 1810), p. 26.
25. W. Vischer, op. cit., p. 290.
26. W. Gell, op. cit., p. 26.
27. H. Lolling in Steffen's Karten von Mykenai (Berlin, 1884), p. 43.
28. Frazer, op. cit., p. 87.
29. Ibid., p. 87.
30. The villagers will show you the site; they seem to speak of it as σπό
Βουρά.
31. For a concise account of what is known about Tenea see E. Meyer, R.E.
s.v. Tenea.
32. Despite all these references to the cult of Apollo at Tenea, the kouros known as the Apollo of Tenea was found at Athikia, a few kilometers to the northeast.
33. E. Curtius, Peloponnesus (Gotha, 1852), v. 2, p. 550.
34. Frazer, op. cit., p. 39.
35. W. M. Leake, Peloponnesiaca (London, 1846), p. 400, suggests that in ancient times the river probably bore the same name as the town beside it.
36. H. Lolling, op. cit. p. 45.
37. Ibid., p. 45.
38. Ibid., p. 45.
39. Frazer, op. cit., p. 88, mentions this tower.
40. Lolling, op. cit., p. 45.

41. Curtius, op. cit., v. 2, p. 514.
42. For further information on this tholos tomb see the publication by P. Stamatakis in Ath. Mitt. 3(1878), p. 271 ff.
43. Paus. 2.17.1 tells us the special uses of the Water of Freedom and that it flows by the road which connects Mycenae and the Heraeum. Steffen, op. cit., p. 41 f., and U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Hermes 19(1884), pp. 463-465, think that Pausanias is referring to this Panagia well; perhaps its ritual use was so important as to render negligible the fact that it had to be transported ca. $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the sanctuary. But C. Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum (Boston and New York, 1902), v.1, p. 15 ff., and others think that the Water of Freedom is the Revma tou Kastrou, the rocky ravine NW of the hill of the Heraeum. Here the excavators found a subterranean conduit with three avenues leading toward Argos, the temple, and the SE. However, this revma now has water only when there is rain.
44. A. Wace, Mycenae An Archaeological History and Guide (Princeton, 1949), p. 27.
45. Steffen, op. cit., Blatt 1.
46. H. G. Lolling in Steffen's Karten von Mykenai, p. 44.
47. A few meters east of Perseia the path splits; to follow the old route to the valley of Berbati one should take the lower branch.
48. W. M. Leake, Travels in the Morea (London, 1830), v. 3, p. 328.
49. Frazer, op. cit., v. 3, p. 88.
50. Curtius, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 513-514.
51. For Lolling's discussion of the Κοντοπορεία see Steffen, op. cit., pp. 44-46.
52. For further information about minor Argive fortifications, see the articles of L. E. Lord in Hesp. 10, no. 2 (1941), pp. 93-112; 7 (1938), pp. 481-527, and A.J.A. 43 (1939), pp. 78-84. Also useful are R. L. Scranton's "The

Pottery from the Pyramids," in Hesp. 7 (1938), pp. 528-538 and F.E. Winter's "The Classical Fortifications in the Valley of Soulinari in the Argolid" in American School Papers 1950. Much of Section 2 is a summary of pertinent material in Mr. Lord's articles.

53. For a brief discussion of these watchtowers see L. E. Lord, "Watchtowers and Fortresses in Argolis," A.J.A. 43 (1939), pp. 78-84.

54. Ibid., p. 83.

55. L. E. Lord "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis", Hesp. 7 (1938), pp. 495-496, thinks that a fourth century date is indicated for the Nemea blockhouse by the use of conglomerate and the "advanced character of the polygonal masonry," and adds that "the pottery evidence - so far as it goes - tends to corroborate this date!"

56. Ibid., p. 483.

57. Ibid., p. 491.

58. The results of the excavation were published by L. E. Lord in "Blockhouses in the Argolid," Hesp., 10, n. 2 (1941), pp. 94-95.

59. For Lord's discussion of this fort see his article in A.J.A. 43 (1939), pp. 78-84.

60. H. Lehmann, Argolis (Athens, 1937), v. 1.

61. For a discussion of the pyramidal form in Greece see L. E. Lord, "Watch-towers and Fortresses in Argolis," A.J.A. 43 (1939), pp. 78-79 and especially n. 6. Only four pyramids of any size have ever been reported by modern travellers; besides those at Ligourio and Kephalaria, we hear of a third pyramid at Astros in Cynuria (Vischer, op. cit., p. 327) and another in southern Laconia (ibid., p. 327), but Lord was unable to locate either of the latter two. Pausanias (2.25.7) mentions yet another to the right of the road from Argos to Epidauros; however, there is no "building very

like a pyramid" (πυραμίδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον) in this plain and Lord, "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis," Hesp. 7 (1938), p. 511 argues that Pausanias is here referring to the structure at Ligourio.

From Pausanias (2.24.7; 2.25.7) we learn that there were common graves of soldiers in the regions where the pyramids of Kephalaria and Ligourio were built. Hence the latter have been considered πολυάνδρια, but Lord, A.J.A. 43 (1939), p. 78, points out that this is impossible because tombs do not have doors "opening inward and secured with a bar inside" such as those in our pyramids.

62. Lord, "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis," Hesp. 7 (1938), p. 501.

63. Frazer, op. cit., p. 213.

64. Lord, "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis," Hesp. 7 (1938), p. 510.

65. For a discussion of the blockhouse near the Kephalaria pyramid see L.

E. Lord, "Blockhouses in the Argolid," Hesp. 10 (1941), pp. 95-103.

66. L.E. Lord, ibid., p. 109.

67. The blockhouse near Lerna was excavated for Lord by A. Frantz and C.

Roebuck, and was also published in Lord's "Blockhouses in the Argolid,"

Hesp. 10 (1941), pp. 103-112.

68. Nea Kios lies between the Inachus and Erasinus rivers; it is correctly

located on H. Lehmann's map (in Argolis, v. 1) and on the British Army

Map (Sheet K8 Korinthos), but Sideris in his **ΑΡΓΟΛΙΔΟΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑ - ΑΝΑΤ.**

ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑ puts it too far east. This has been corrected (and a more accurate

course for the road to Nea Kios marked in) on the excerpt from Sideris'

map submitted with this paper.

69. Frazer, op. cit., p. 303.

70. Curtius, op. cit., p. 383.

71. Leake, Travels in the Morea, v. 2, p. 476.

72. Frazer, op. cit., p. 303.

73. There was only about a meter of an old wall a little to the east of Temenium and the Inachus and just north of the road which runs to the factory and on toward Nauplia; this wall, now barely higher than the level of the surrounding ground, can best be seen from the small marshy hollow to the east and is mostly a large rectangular stone block at ground level, a layer of mortar containing some brick or tile below, and another large stone at the bottom. It is manifestly later than the classical Greek period and was perhaps built as late as medieval or Turkish times.

74. Herodotus 6.76-78 is the chief source for the Battle of Sepeia; for other accounts, and stories connected with the event see also Plut. mul. virt. 245C, apophth. Lacon. 223; Paus. 2.20.8-10 and 3.4.1; Polyæn. 1.14 and 8.33; Herod. 6.92; Suid. s.v. Τελέριλλα.

75. See Paus. 2.24.6; Herod. 6.76; Diod. 15.49; Strabo 6, p. 275, and 8, p. 371.

76. I owe this information to friends who were in Laconia in early June and had occasion to ford the Eurotas.

77. At the springs is a chapel of the Panagia. Frazer, op. cit., p. 211, thinks that Pan or Dionysus may have been worshipped here in an earlier period.

78. L. Ross, Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland Erster Theil: Reisen im Peloponnes (Berlin, 1841), p. 135, n. 131. Frazer, op. cit., v.3, p. 217, says that Curtius (op. cit., v. 2, p. 478) also favors Leondi, but actually Curtius does not really commit himself to Leondi or Palaio Leondi; he simply states that Orneai was by the river of Leondi, that the valley of the village Leondi once had geschichtliche Bedeutung, and

- and that there are alleged to be ruins at Palaio Leondi.
79. Bursian, op. cit., v. 2, p. 64.
80. On the *Κλίμαξ* see Paus. 8.6.4 and W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese," J.H.S. 15 (1895), pp. 80-81.
81. Frazer, op. cit., v. 3, p. 216. Ross, op. cit., p. 138, apparently locates Lyrkeia in this same spot and he also mentions the presence of many sherds. The bus driver pointed out the site (the walls are very noticeable and quite near the road) to me but unfortunately I had not the time to stop. I hope to return later.
82. Bursian, op. cit., v. 2, p. 49, n. 1 would locate Saminthos at Skala. Lolling, however, rejects Skala and advocates the ruins of a roomy fortress on the height Aetolithi (which is between Phychtia and the Nemea block-house and near the northern entrance to the Argive plain). For Lolling's rather effective arguments in favor of the top of Aetolithi as Saminthos, see Steffen's Karten von Mykenai, p. 45, note.
83. Modern Lyrkeia is a considerable distance away, being west and a little south of Sterna. I note in passing that the scanty ruins of a *καστράκι* (indicated on Sideris' map) of a date unknown to me occupy the top of a high rocky hill just east of this later Lyrkeia. The fort's walls were long and irregular and were built of cyclopean blocks put together without mortar. They are best preserved at the north corner and along the northeast side. In the patch of wheat growing in what was once the interior I saw coarse sherds and tiles. The fort - bounded to west and east by deep revmas - dominates its own little valley; however, troops from Argos - and more especially troops from the direction of Mantinea - would be able to get quite close without being seen.
84. Frazer, op. cit., v. 3, p. 217.

85. Many years ago strangers had come to the village and climbed up to the cave with a young boy as a guide. They had gathered many ancient things in large sacks and carried them away by night, giving the *παῖδι* a trifling *insum*. *οἱ καλόγεροι* were also involved in the story of the treasures of the cave, but I could not make out exactly what their part in the whole matter was supposed to be.

86. As I recall, I found the sherds northeast of the area described as the site of an old church.

87. The modern road from the Phliasian Plain south to Gymno is better - and much more used - than that from Gymno to the highway west of Sterna.

There is a daily bus service to Gymno on the former but only the occasional truck climbs up the latter.

88. On the course of the old road see Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. 3, pp. 212 and 214; see p. 212 of the same also for a description of the ruins of Cenchræe

and bibliography on the site. and Waddington

89. Lebas, *Voyage archéologique. Itinéraire. Inscriptions* 1, pl. 30. Unfortunately Lebas has marked his directions in wrongly; on the copy of

his plan (Fig. 28) of this paper I have made the necessary correction.

90. Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 214.

91. W. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, v. 2, p. 337.

92. Also on the acropolis are three small depressions surrounded by very low (perhaps one foot high) rubble walls. That on the top is apsidal and about 3 meters long; the other two are elliptical and to the east of the first. Their date and purpose are unknown to me, but I suspect that they

are quite modern.

Elegen, G. N. *...*

Cambridge, 1922

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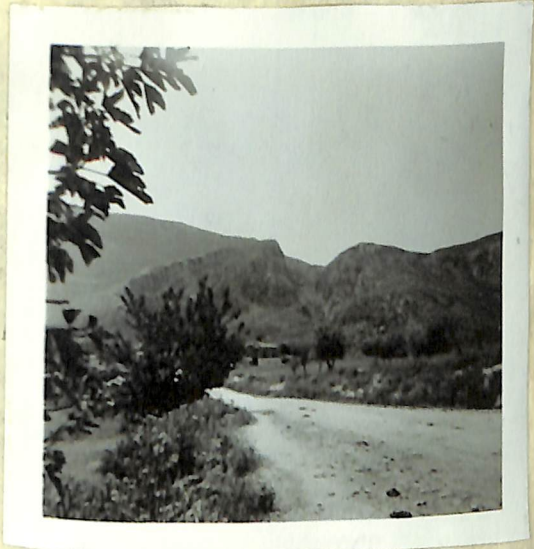
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FIG. 1.



NORTH ENTRANCE TO DERVENAKIA (TRETUS) PASS, MT. KEETERAS TO LEFT (EAST), MT. KOLOKOTRONIS TO WEST (RIGHT)

FIG. 2.



NORTH ENTRANCE TO GUNI PASS. MT. DAPHNIAS TO FAR LEFT, MT. KOUTSOURIA ON RIGHT (WEST) EDGE OF PASS.

FIG. 3.



OPUS INCERTUM OF HADRIAN'S AQUEDUCT NEAR GUNI PASS. CLEONAI VALLEY IN BACKGROUND. MT. PHOUKAS (FLAT TOP) TO NW

FIG. 4.



BERBATI VALLEY FROM EAST. FOREGROUND: DRY BED OF R. ASTERION. BACKGROUND: TO RIGHT (NW) - PROPHETIS ELIAS; IN CENTER - SZARA. NOTE LITTLE BUTTE OF PROSYMNA JUST BELOW.

FIG. 5.



NORTH ENTRANCE TO LOWER KLEISOURA FROM BERBATI VALLEY. DRY BED OF R. ASTERION TO RIGHT (WEST)

FIG. 6.



MYCENAEAN BRIDGE NEAR MYCENAE. MT. SZARA IN BACKGROUND.

FIG. 7.



NEMEA BLOCKHOUSE - SOUTH SIDE AND A LITTLE OF EAST SIDE. HEIGHTS GOING BACK TO NEMEA AND PHLIUS.

FIG. 8.



NEMEA BLOCKHOUSE - VIEW INTO DOOR (SOUTH END OF WEST SIDE)

FIG. 9.



NEMEA BLOCKHOUSE - PROJECTION IN NORTH SIDE WITH SMALL WATER CHANNEL ON TOP.

FIG. 10.



INTERIOR OF MYCENAE BLOCKHOUSE - SCANTY REMAINS OF PARTITION AND NORTH WALLS. BACKGROUND - S. ENTRANCE TO DERVENAKIA PASS.

FIG. 11.



LARGE DRUM AND UPPER MILLSTONE TO RIGHT OF RAILROAD NEAR MYCENAE BLOCKHOUSE. BACKGROUND - S. ENTRANCE TO DERVENAKIA (TRETUS) PASS.

FIG. 12.



PHYCHTIA FORT. VIEW OF N. WALL (LAST FEW METERS AT E. END VERY LOW), NW CORNER AND W. WALL.

FIG. 13.



KEPHALARI PYRAMID - N. SIDE

FIG. 14.



KEPHALARI PYRAMID - VIEW FROM E. OF DOORWAY (AT S. END OF E. SIDE) NOTE TRIANGULAR OPENING AT TOP.

FIG. 15.



NEA KIOS AND PART OF FLAT AREA BETWEEN R. ERASINUS AND R. INACHUS WHICH WAS SITE OF ANCIENT TEMENIUM.

FIG. 16.



MOUTH OF R. ERASINUS. NOTE LONG PIER OF MODERN NEA KIOS STRETCHING OUT INTO ARGOLIC GULF. BACKGROUND - HEIGHTS BY NAUPLIA AND FARTHER EAST.

FIG. 17.



R. ERASINUS NEAR SOURCE. NORTHERN - MOST OF RIVER'S 3 SHALLOW (CA. 1') RUSHING STREAMS HERE. NOTE TREES.

FIG. 18.



VIEW NORTH FROM CEMENT BRIDGE OVER DRY R. INACHUS. NOTE GULF WATER FLOWING UP INACHUS' MOUTH, AND, IN BACKGROUND - POINTED LARISSA BY ARGOS.

FIG.
19.

VIEW NW FROM DEIRAS (RIDGE BETWEEN LARISSA AND ASPIS) OF A MODERN ROAD HERE PERHAPS FOLLOWING COURSE OF ANCIENT MANTINEA ROAD. BACKGROUND - WHITE LINE OF DRY R. CHARADROS, HEIGHTS ON W. BORDER OF ARGIVE PLAIN.

FIG.
20.

GYMNO (THE VILLAGE ON THE SLOPE) AND ITS VALLEY. VIEW TAKEN FROM E., FROM BYZANTINE SITE ON LOW SLOPE OF MT. MEGALOVOUNI.

FIG.
21.

LEONDI AND ITS GLEN AND THE HEIGHTS AROUND THE PASSAGE TO THE PHLIASIAN PLAIN. VIEW (NW) TAKEN FROM LOWER SLOPE OF MT. MEGALOVOUNI.

FIG.
22.

SW CORNER OF PHLIASIAN PLAIN. VIEW TAKEN FROM RUINS (PHLIASIAN FORT?) ON HILLOCK. NOTE ROAD ENTERING PASS S. TO LEONDI.



FIG.
23.



MAXIMUM PRESERVED HEIGHT OF
ASHLAR WALL OF RUINS (PHLIASIAN FORT?)
ON RISE IN SW CORNER OF PHLIASIAN PLAIN.

FIG.
24.



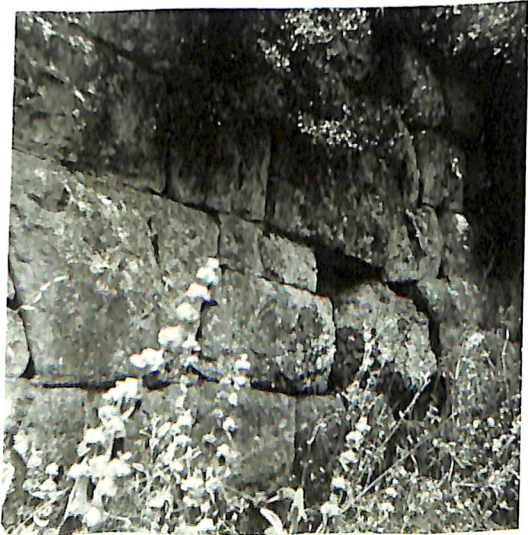
HILL OF HYSIAI FROM RAILROAD
STATION IN VALLEY OF ACHLADOKAMBOS
BELOW.

FIG.
25.



FROM HYSIAI ACROPOLIS S. ACROSS
VALLEY OF ACHLADOKAMBOS TO
MAIN PEAK OF PARTHENION.

FIG.
26.



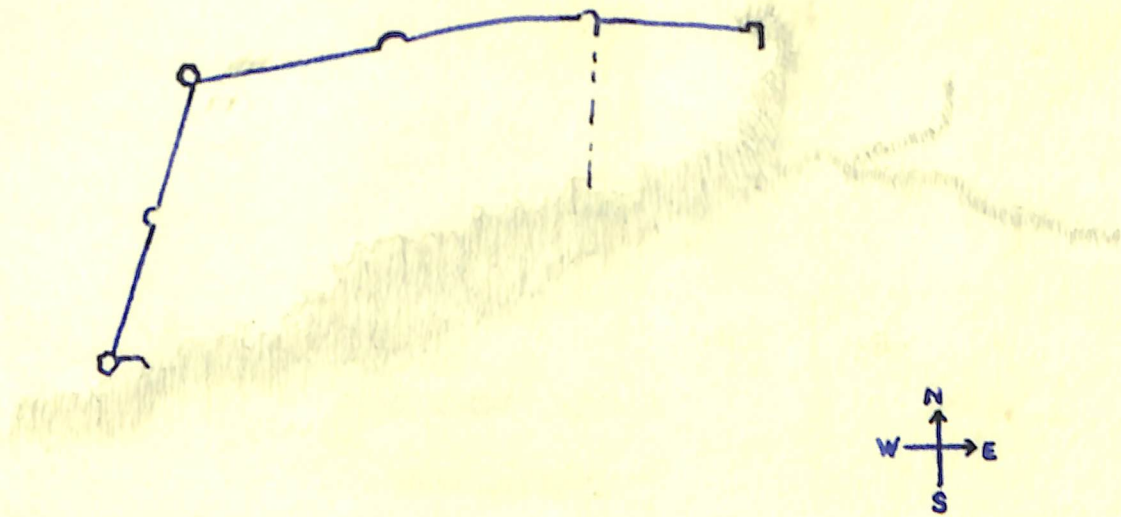
PART OF NORTH WALL OF
ACROPOLIS OF HYSIAI.

FIG.
27.



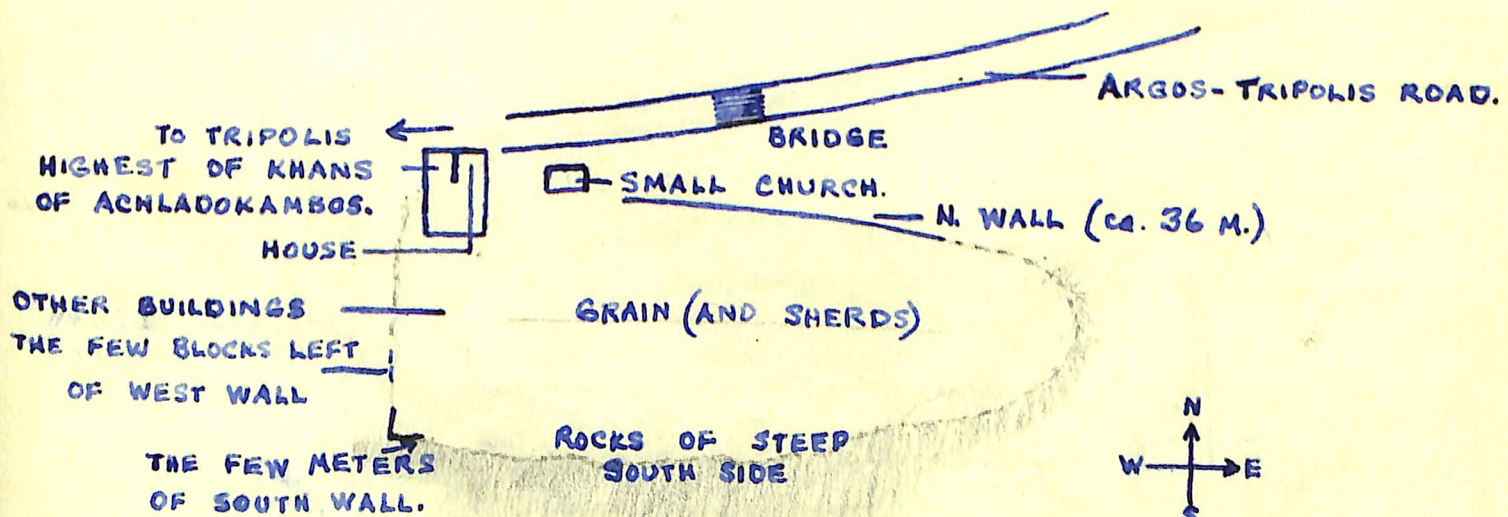
VIEW FROM HYSIAI ACROPOLIS TO SW OVER
VALLEY OF ACHLADOKAMBOS. MT. PARTHENION
IN BACKGROUND, PART OF ROCK OF S. SIDE OF
HYSIAI ACROPOLIS IN FOREGROUND.

FIG. 28.



HYSIAI - WALLS AND TOWERS OF THE ACROPOLIS BEFORE 1856, ACCORDING
TO LEBAS AND WADDINGTON, VOYAGE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE ITINÉRAIRE INSCRIPTIONS
I, pl. 30.

FIG. 29



AREA OF HYSIAI, JUNE, 1954. ROUGH SKETCH (MADE PARTLY FROM MEMORY)
INTENDED TO ASSIST VISITORS TO FIND ACROPOLIS AND REMAINS OF
WALLS.

SCALE - ABSOLUTELY NONE.